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Sasquatch-Like Creatures in Newfoundland: A Study in the Problems of Belief, Perception, and Reportage[1]

This article describes types of monsters and supernatural beings which inhabit the folklore of European settlers of the island. The author notes that there is no specific Sasquatch-like being in this mythology but suggests, with reference to recorded accounts of sightings, that such phenomena would be perceived in terms of either physical nature or the ready categories of the settlers' imported mythology.

In the one-thousand-year history of the exploration and settlement of Newfoundland by European peoples there have been a great many encounters with half-human half-animal creatures and human-like supernatural beings on the island. In about the year 1000 a Norse sailor was killed by an arrow from a sciapod, a hopping one-footed humanoid.[2] In 1610 sailors and dockworkers in the Newfoundland port of St. John's were sent fleeing by a rather malevolent and unattractive mermaid.[3]

The traditional culture of Newfoundlanders allows for the existence of fairies, devils, ghosts, Jack O'Lanterns, spirits, mermaids, witches, magicians, wraiths, and a host of other human, part-human, or human-like creatures. Stories of encounters with these various beings abound in Newfoundland,[4] and these phenomena are recognized by many islanders as distinct and identifiable parts of the world in which they live. For example, fairies are described by Newfoundlanders according to certain rather standard characteristics, behaviour patterns, and places of habitation, and are called "fairies," "little people," or "the good people" to distinguish them from other perceived phenomena. Likewise, the other beings which I listed above can all be described and given a taxonomic name by people within the traditional island culture. In short, the Newfoundlander's world view includes a number of well-defined and taxonomically distinct beings not found in the scientific or "official" lists of island flora and fauna.

One might say that all the above beings are relatively well defined within the "cultural language" of Newfoundlanders.[5] When confronted with a fairy, ghost, or devil, the Newfoundlander recognizes it as such and can

report his encounter to others in terms which will properly identify the phenomenon he has observed.

The traditional world view of the Newfoundlander, however, does not include Sasquatch-like creatures; that is, large, human-like bipeds covered with fur or long hair. Unlike certain cultures in the Pacific Northwest or in the Himalayas, there is no word in the Newfoundlander's traditional cultural language (or in his actual language for that matter) which would describe such a creature. Quite simply, the Sasquatch does not exist within the traditional cosmology of the Newfoundlander.[6]

This does not mean that Sasquatch-like creatures do not inhabit the province, nor does it mean that encounters with such creatures have not occurred in Newfoundland. When such encounters are made, however, the Newfoundlander has no way of describing the creature as a distinct phenomenon according to his cultural language and can only perceive and report the encounter in terms which conform to his world view. Toelken, in his excellent essay on the nature of world view and communication, writes that a person is "inclined to view many, if not most, phenomena in those conceptual terms which seem 'logical' to his society; that is, he is taught by his society *how* to see."[7]

Since the world view of the Newfoundlander prevents him from seeing and reporting a Sasquatch as a "Sasquatch," "Bigfoot," or "Yeti," he perceives and reports a creature with which he is familiar, while at the same time he describes a creature with the characteristics of the Sasquatch. I will illustrate this peculiarity of perception and reportage with some examples of Sasquatch-like sightings or encounters in Newfoundland.

One of the more intriguing ways in which Newfoundlanders have perceived and reported the Sasquatch is as an "Indian." The indigenous Indians of the island were the Beothucks, who were extinct by the third decade of the nineteenth century. Micmac Indians from Nova Scotia settled on the island in comparatively recent times, but their numbers are small and they are not very widespread. The average Newfoundlander, therefore, would have little, if any, knowledge of Indian behaviour or characteristics. Few would have ever met an Indian, and those Indians they did meet were likely to be the highly acculturated Micmacs.

There is, however, an image within the Newfoundlander's cultural language of the "savage" Indian of the wilderness, no doubt created out of a combination of legends about the Beothucks and the popular literature on Indians found throughout North America. It is this image of the wild, savage, or hostile Indian which some Newfoundlanders have used to describe encounters with Sasquatch-like creatures.

In 1915 James P. Howley wrote a history of the Beothucks in which he compiled many reports, both written and oral, of encounters with this extinct

tribe. It is of interest that several of these reports describe these Indians as a tall and massive race of people:

> A man killed in Trinity Bay by the fishermen is described as a huge savage, and another said to have been seen by one Richards, in Notre Dame Bay was pronounced to be seven feet tall. . . .
> Mr. Watts remembers many years ago, hearing from a reliable source, that some hunters being in the interior of Labrador near Forteau came across the footprints of men, who judging by their great strides, must have been of immense stature.
> One Richmond, a noted Indian killer, told many stories about them [Beothucks]. He said he once saw a dead Indian 7 feet tall.[8]

Although it is true that the Beothucks were somewhat taller than most aboriginal tribes in North America, the above descriptions would seem to be either exaggerations[9] or accounts of beings other than Beothucks.

In the mid to late nineteenth century the following encounter occurred, as described by the grandson of the witness:

> Way back a number of years ago, Indian Head, the northernmost point of White Sands, derived its name from the fact that Indians [were] frequently down there. The first fishermen in that area came from Caplin Harbour and used to moor their boat off shore. Often when the fishermen came back to their camps on shore, they found their fishing gear mutilated. Their fishing gear mutilated, their cooking utensils—but rarely anything stolen, just broken and destroyed. So my grandfather told me that this occurred many times, but they did not see the Indians personally.
>
> When he was some eight years old, he lived in Caplin Harbour. He came up to White Sands fishing with some other men, and, one time, in search of caplin or bait, they went on to and landed on the south side of White Sands, White Sands Beach, and as they rowed in there in the early morning, there were two Indians in the sands. There were two or three boats of them [fishermen] and one of the boats had a gun—an old cap and ball musket, the gun of the era. So, as the two Indians got to their feet to start to retreat towards the bank and forest, one of the men raised the gun and shot one of the Indians.
>
> That Indian, according to my grandfather, was approximately nine feet tall, covered with hair from an inch to an inch and a half. He had

> on no clothing whatsoever. They did not take him in their boat, but they towed it in the water—back to Caplin Harbour and it's buried down in Caplin Harbour in a place called Shark Cove.[10]

There are, of course, many unanswerable questions about this story. Who were the Indians who destroyed the gear of the fishermen? The Beothucks were long gone by the time this encounter occurred. It is conceivable that the Indians were Micmacs, but it would be more likely that the Micmacs would have stolen the gear, rather than simply destroying it. The description of the random destruction of the fishing gear is not unlike similar descriptions of the destruction of equipment in woods camps in the Pacific Northwest.[11]

The description of the dead Indian displays the characteristics of a Sasquatch-like creature rather than those of a man. Yet, in attempting to find a logical explanation for both the random destruction of their gear and the strange creature which they had killed, these nineteenth-century Newfoundlanders made use of the image and characteristics of the wild Indian which was already implanted within their world view.

The following account combines both the large footprint motif and the sighting of a hairy, human-like creature. The encounter took place sometime in the first half of this century, and the collector of this story tells us that the narrator-witness is illiterate and has little conception of time or number:

> "Meself and Mista Jim L. were huntin' this fall 'bout. . .oh. . .twas (scratching his head) twenty or forty years ago (he couldn't tell two from ten years). Anyway we was walkin' through the woods down in Willwood Harbour when bine-by sher I sees this thing runnin' through the woods. It had hair on it 'bout ten feet long. He was all covered with long black hair. Be gar the reckly he vanished. I says to Mista J. (Mr.) it must be an indin. Well we looked around and the reckly I sees his fut print. It was a large fut."
>
> He went on with a lengthy description [of] the foot print which according to him wore tannels. He concluded his description by reminding us we had often seen a picture of the indian's foot in the books. I believe everyone present had seen a picture of an indian's foot except Mr. W. because from his description I know he didn't have a clue.
>
> He continued, "We followed his tracks and then I sees him sittin' up in a branch. I took out the horn and put six fingers and two three-quarter pistol balls in the musseloader. Mista J. L. fired first. He only scarred him. I raised the gun, took good sight and fired. The pistol balls went right in his heart. He fell from the branch into a big hole.

> I started to load again but Mista J. told me the gun would bust open. I was just going to fire again when he stopped kicking and died (he then removed his cap)."[12]

Whether the narrator-witness was as ignorant of dimensions and of Indians as the collector believed is impossible to determine. The meaning of "tannels" as given in this context is obscure, but it would seem to refer to some kind of footwear.[13] The important fact, however, is that this man truly believed he had shot and killed an Indian, rather than some unknown beast. In a later part of his narrative, he actually warns his audience not to talk too much about the incident, since "you can get strung up for a thing like this."

The perception of a Sasquatch-like creature as an Indian may seem preposterous, yet in the context of traditional Newfoundland culture such a view is not altogether strange. The Indian, whether Micmac or Beothuck, was at home in the wooded and marshy interior of the island, whereas the European was mostly a man of the sea and only occasionally ventured inland. Thus, the Newfoundlander may well have associated Indians with the wild, unknown, and dangerous forests and marshes of the island. At the same time, the Newfoundlander's view of the acculturated Micmacs of the coast was that they were strange and magical persons. There are many stories told among Newfoundlanders connecting Micmacs with witchcraft and black magic.[14]

In the mind of the Newfoundlander, then, the Indian had both human and non-human characteristics—a creature of the woods rather than a dweller on the coast, a witch and a sorcerer rather than a simple mortal. Given this view, an encounter with a half-human half-creature in the woods or on an uninhabited stretch of beach might very well be perceived as an Indian by the Newfoundlander.

The association of Sasquatch-like creatures with part-human part-supernatural beings is evident in other encounter stories. Given a different context in which the creature is seen, the Newfoundlander interprets what he sees in a manner different from the above stories. Note the following narrative of an incident which happened around 1930 to 1935. Again, the narrator is the grandson of the witness:

> When they (his grandfather's family) were living down on Battle Point, he used to sell rum—bootleg rum. There were usually rangers on the go and grandfather used to keep his rum buried up in the garden—in different places. One night he went up as usual to get a bottle of rum and just as he had dug up the bottle he saw a very bright light coming

> towards him. It was so bright he could not look at it. But as it got closer, it sort of got dull enough so that he could look at it and he saw that it was really a monster with two very bright eyes. Grandfather used to say that the creature had eyes like two big saucers. It was about the size of a man—a big man over six feet tall, was very black and hairy all over. Grandfather wasn't frightened—the devil wouldn't frighten him—but he didn't know what to do because the light was so bright he was almost blind. He started digging again just to see what would happen and the light began to get brighter and come closer. He stopped digging—filled in the hole and the monster disappeared. Grandfather was sure that the monster was protecting something that was buried in this spot—and it was afraid that he. . . was going to find it. He figured that there was some treasure buried there by pirates and that they had killed one of the crew and buried him near the treasure to protect it, until the pirates themselves got back. The pirates never came back and so the monster which was really the old pirate was still there.[15]

The story goes on to tell that the man tried again on another night, but the monster or guardian spirit appeared once more. The legend of a pirate's ghost as a guardian spirit over buried treasure is extremely common in Newfoundland.[16] The guardian spirit, however, usually does not have the Sasquatch-like characteristics described above.[17]

What may have been another encounter under similar conditions is described by the same informant in response to questions about his first story:

> There's lots of stories like that in Newfoundland [buried treasure stories]. Grandfather knew a man in Otto River somewhere who saw a monster up in the cliff and a few days later when he and some other men went back to the spot they saw where a chest or a trunk had been dragged over the rocks to the water's edge.[18]

The sudden appearance of the creature while the witness was digging, or shortly before a newly dug hole was discovered, as in the above stories, places the anomalous being under the taxonomic designation "treasure guard," according to Newfoundland folklore. Once again, a strange and unexplainable event is rationalized or made logical within the world view of the traditional island culture.

Under other conditions, it is possible that encounters with Sasquatch-like

creatures have been perceived and reported as other supernatural beings by Newfoundlanders. But unless the Newfoundlander describes in detail what he saw or heard, rather than simply stating what he assumed the creature to be, it is impossible for the researcher to determine whether the report might be a Sasquatch sighting. Thus, the many times in which Newfoundlanders have reported hearing strange or eerie sounds in the woods may be interpreted by the researcher as the whistling of a Sasquatch, but may be described by the Newfoundlander as music made by fairies.

In an unpublished paper Laurie Lacey discusses the possibility that a large footprint found in Nova Scotia and assumed by the locals to be "the Devil's footprint" may actually be the mark of a Sasquatch.[19] Since "Devil's footprint" legends are quite common in Newfoundland, similar perceptions and reports may have also occurred there.

Of course not all sightings of Sasquatch-like creatures are interpreted by Newfoundlanders in the ways described above. Despite the belief traditions of the island culture, individual Newfoundlanders may not include devils, spirits, and savage Indians within their own personal world views. In addition, encounters with Sasquatch-like creatures may occur under conditions which would not be associated in the mind of the Newfoundlander with any of the above-mentioned creatures. Under such conditions, descriptions of the creature and reports of what it was might differ little from Sasquatch reports in other parts of North America.

The following two accounts exhibit more mainstream North American perceptions of the Sasquatch phenomenon. The first report, dating from the late nineteenth century, occurred in Labrador, the mainland part of the province:

> one afternoon a young girl was playing in front of her parents' cabin when she saw a large animal covered with short white fur, walking erect and appearing to have practically no neck, come out of the forest and start toward her. She very reasonably ran screaming into the house where her mother barred the door and the creature went away. However, it returned at night and walked around the cabin beating on the walls, apparently with a branch or other piece of wood. During the following days the men of the area tracked it hoping to shoot it. They claimed to have seen it at a distance several times, but never got a clear shot at it. For some time it continued to come back at night, frightening the inhabitants of the community, and then at length it simply disappeared. The local people explained it as apparently being a gorilla which had somehow found its way into the local forest.[20]

Note that the creature is perceived as a gorilla in this account.[21] Once again, an unexplainable phenomenon is seen in terms of an explainable one, according to the world views of the witnesses. As with the image of the wild Indian, the image of the gorilla was probably incorporated into the belief systems of these Labrador inhabitants through popular literature. Under the circumstances of the encounter, which occurred within the community rather than in the wilderness, perceptions of the creature as a spirit, savage Indian, or other such being may not have been appropriate . A "gorilla," however, if perceived as a wild animal which had abandoned its natural habitat and "found its way" into Labrador, might be expected to wander into a community either to seek human companionship or simply out of misdirection.

In the second account the witness does not identify the creature according to any traditional taxonomy, but simply describes it without an accompanying belief statement:

> The man who is supposed to have seen our version of the Abominable Snowman was William Decker, who lived in one of the small settlements on the Newfoundland side of the Strait of Belle Isle. The time was in the 1890s, when Decker was spending the winter in Pistolet Bay, hunting and fishing.
>
> One frosty morning he took his muzzle-loader and headed back into the country. As he reached a marsh, about 300 yards across, he heard a loud and frightening roar. He turned and what he saw made him almost faint in his tracks. A huge animal, or huge man, a giant creature anyway, was coming at him in gigantic leaps.
>
> Decker had already charged his gun with plenty of powder and shot. He knelt down and took steady aim and waited till the creature was very close, *too* close for comfort. Then he fired. The weight of the charge brought the beast-man to his knees; but it was up again very quickly. But Decker was ready with a second volley and the creature fell the second time letting out a bellow that could be heard for miles. Taking no chances, he reloaded and fired a third volley. The creature did not stir again.
>
> The story relates that Decker measured the creature. It was ten to twelve feet tall, with an outstretched arm-span of fourteen feet. Its feet left tracks in the snow that Decker's snowshoes couldn't cover. The body, he said, was covered with long hair. He figured the creature weighed about one thousand pounds! Apparently. He left the carcase or corpse where it lay . . . .[22]

Note that in the above account, the present-day narrator adds a belief state-

ment that the creature was an abominable snowman. Again, he is simply applying his own world view in order to make sense out of an anomalous story. In a later part of this radio script, the narrator gives us a clue as to why he perceives this incident as a Sasquatch encounter:

> the general details are very similar to the other tales that are current with respect to the Abominable Snowman and the Sasquatch and a number of other frightening apparitions reported from other parts of the world.

Just as previous Newfoundlanders had incorporated the image of the savage Indian and the gorilla into their world views, the narrator took the image of the Sasquatch from popular culture and applied it to a local story as an explanation of the phenomenon.

If we assume, and it can only be an assumption, that all of the above reports refer to a single phenomenon—that is, a Sasquatch-like creature native to Newfoundland—then the major variable present in all these accounts is the different perceptions of the phenomenon. The researcher, looking for evidence of the Sasquatch phenomenon in Newfoundland, must be aware of this variable; otherwise, he will run the risk of rejecting, out of hand, important and useful data for his research.

Because the researcher is likely to have a different world view from the people he is studying, he may mistakenly reject data because it is described in terms which he finds unbelievable or ridiculous. In reference to both Sasquatch-like creatures and U.F.O.'s in Newfoundland, David Hufford has made this very point:

> there is one other logical error to which folklorists and other scholars all too often fall prey when considering belief materials, and which is relevant to the ABSM [Sasquatch] and UFO material. This is the discounting of the possible objective reality of a phenomenon because it is accompanied, either in tradition or the account of the informant, by an unacceptable explanation. For example, the statement that UFO's are spaceships and ABSM's are their occupants may well accompany or even replace an informant's report of having heard recent stories of lights in the sky and having personally seen a large hairy biped. The former is an interpretation which may well derive totally from tradition while the latter is an alleged observation which may or may not come from tradition. Obviously most informants will not make statements with a high degree of phenomenological clarity. Therefore

> our assessment of likelihood (where appropriate), as well as our need for data relevant to a wide variety of linguistic and cultural questions, requires that we carefully distinguish between interpretation and observation in belief materials.
>
> As soon as we become truly careful about our logic and our understanding of our own assumptive sets we shall be able to begin to work seriously with a huge body of material of great importance within our culture, and to do so in ways that promise a variety of very exciting possibilities.[23]

Bearing in mind the close relationship between belief, perception and reportage, the discovery of accounts of any given phenomenon becomes difficult. For example, the rationale often given for Sasquatch reports by those who cannot accept the existence of such a creature is that the witness mistook a bear or some other animal or object for a Sasquatch. Although, as I shall discuss shortly, there are some problems with such a rationale, some Sasquatch reports may well be cases of a "mistaken bear," and the researcher must be prepared to accept this possibility when gathering reports of Sasquatch sightings.

The "mistaken bear" theory of Sasquatch sightings finds its greatest support in the examination of the Newfoundland psyche. John D. A. Widdowson, in an extensive study of frightening and threatening figures in Newfoundland, demonstrates the various ways in which Newfoundlanders embody or personify fear.[24] In different contexts and under different circumstances, the Newfoundlander's mental picture of fear will vary; thus, parents might use the priest, the devil, Santa Claus, mummers, the policeman, ghosts, fairies, or almost anything else to both threaten and control children.

There is, however, one context in which a particular mental image of fear seems to predominate: the threatening figure of the wilderness, when described by parents or children, often resembles a Sasquatch-like creature. In order to understand this, one must know something of the Newfoundland way of life. The Newfoundlander is surrounded by two potentially dangerous wildernesses—the forest (or marsh) and the sea. Stories of misfortune in the wilderness, of both a natural and a supernatural variety, abound in the narrative traditions of the island. The people are well aware of the great risks they take when they leave the relative safety of their community to fish in the sea or hunt in the interior. It is thus quite understandable that Newfoundland parents would do their utmost to keep their children away from the forests and marshes of the interior and the uninhabited landwash or coastline.

The threatening figure used to keep children away from the wilderness is

often called the 'bogey man" (or some variation on this name), and it is this figure, embodying the fear of the wilderness, which is often pictured as a Sasquatch-like creature.[25] The following mental picture (in this instance called a "boo-bagger") has several Sasquatch-like characteristics:

> The Boo-bagger is similar to the bear—hairy, same height and size, but without claws. It is entirely black with a blunt face rather than a sharp one like a bear. Its tail is like that of a bear's.[26]

In other reports, this threatening figure is described as a "half-human beast . . . covered with long black hair."[27] Others, instead of refering to this figure as a "bogey man," make more direct reference to its characteristics by calling it the "Hairy Man" or "the big hairy monster."[28] In at least one instance, the link between the threatening figure and the Sasquatch has been made directly. One Newfoundland college student remembers being threatened with the "abdominal [sic] snowman."[29]

Thus, although the Newfoundlander has no word in his cultural language for a Sasquatch as a true and distinct phenomenon, he does have a word for such a creature within his mental conception of fear. No adult Newfoundlander believes in the existence of the Sasquatch-like bogey man, yet many have the image of such a creature firmly implanted in their psyches from childhood fears.

Of course, an intriguing question which immediately comes to mind in respect to the Newfoundland bogey man is where this particular image of fear came from. Is a large, hairy, manlike biped a natural and universal symbol of fear among human beings of different cultures—an "archetype of the collective unconscious" in Jungian terms?[30] Or does the image of the bogey man stem from some natural phenomenon on the island? Is it only a coincidence that both the Newfoundland Sasquatch and the make-believe bogey man inhabit the same wild forests, marshes, and coastline of the ilsand? Just as the image of the wild and savage Indian of the wilderness might be traced partially to memories and legends of the Beothucks, might the image of the bogey man be traced to some other natural island phenomenon?

I am not sure what effect this mental image has upon the actual perception and reportage of a Sasquatch encounter in Newfoundland, but it may indeed add weight to the "mistaken bear" theory as an explanation for such encounters. If the Newfoundlander is in a particularly fearful state while in the wilderness, might not his fear take concrete form, forcing him to perceive a bear or a tree as a bogey man or Sasquatch?

The "mistaken bear" theory, however, may not adequately explain all

reports. Others have already pointed out the behavioural and anatomical differences between the creature reported and the bear,[31] but there is another argument against this rationale which has to do with belief and perception. Many of the Sasquatch sightings, both in Newfoundland and elsewhere, were made by hunters, woodsmen, or others familiar with the flora and fauna of the wilderness. Is it reasonable to assume that such experts, well acquainted with bears, would perceive a bear as something other than what it is? In discussing mermaids, Horace Beck has made the same point:

> since the northern fishermen . . . live out their lives in proximity to thousands of seals, it would be ridiculous to think that atmospheric conditions or even strong drink could prompt them to mistake seals for mermaids.[32]

It seems more likely that the reverse situation would occur: when confronted with an anomalous creature, the witness might perceive it in terms of a similar, recognizable creature. Thus, a great problem for the researcher are those witnesses who have seen a Sasquatch, but who assume that they were looking at a bear. Such a rationalization seems quite likely in view of the fact that almost all Newfoundlanders accept the bear as a part of their world view, whereas few accept the Sasquatch. Thus, the simple statement, "I saw a bear in the woods today," may conceal an actual Sasquatch encounter.

The researcher, who may be alert to reports of encounters with spirits, devils, Indians, gorillas, and other such unlikely beings, will still miss reports of bear, moose, or lynx, since these encounters seem "reasonable and normal" according to the researcher's world view. Thus, what may have been a true sighting of a Sasquatch-like creature could, through subsequent tellings, become no more than a story about a frightening encounter with a bear.

The researcher, then, is faced with the problem of a world view which does not accept the Sasquatch when it is actually there, but rather rationalizes it as an Indian, spirit, devil, fairy, or as nothing more than a bear. At the same time, the researcher must deal with the problem of a psyche which might accept the Sasquatch when it isn't there. The Newfoundlander's world view and his conception of fear are in contradiction, so that when confronted with an unexplainable phenomenon, he may well be torn between a cosmological and a psychical rationalization of the event.

The problems of a researcher who attempts to interpret Sasquatch reports in Newfoundland are great. The islander's way of reporting the Sasquatch phenomenon may totally obscure the "actuality" of the event, from the researcher's point of view. In a culture such as that of Newfoundland, these

problems may seem insurmountable, yet the reports gathered so far are intriguing, and further work may, in time, overcome the barriers of belief, perception, and reportage.

Notes

1. I should like to thank David J. Hufford and John D. A. Widdowson for many of the ideas presented in this paper, and for the inspiration to write it. I should also like to thank the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (hereafter MUNFLA) for allowing me access to their collections.
2. Gwyn Jones, ed. and trans., *The Norse Atlantic Saga: Being the Norse Voyages of Discovery and Settlement to Iceland, Greenland, America* (London: Oxford, 1964), pp. 184–85. The sciapod, monocole or footshade man was well known to European culture; see Heinz Mode, *Fabulous Beasts and Demons* (London: Phaidon, 1973), pp. 206–7.
3. Richard Whitebourne, *A Discoervs and Discovery of New-Found-Land . . .* (London, 1623), pp. [100–101].
4. The greatest repository for such stories is the MUNFLA collection. All references to stories from this collection will include the MUNFLA accession number.
5. I have taken this term from Barre Toelken, "Folklore, Worldview, and Communication," in *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, eds. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975), p. 267.
6. David J. Hufford has made this same point in "Humanoids and Anomalous Lights: Taxonomic and Epistemological Problems," *Fabula* 18 (1977): 234–41. See also Wayne Suttles, "On the Cultural Track of the Sasquatch," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 6 (1972): 65–90, for a discussion of belief and perception of Sasquatch among Pacific Northwest Indians. For a good survey of recent folkloristic studies on the relationship of perception to belief, see Donald Ward, "The Little Man Who Wasn't There: Encounters with the Supranormal," *Fabula* 18 (1977): 212–25.
7. Toelken, p. 265.
8. *The Beothucks or Red Indians: The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland* (1915; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1974), pp. 257–58, 266, 273.
9. Ibid., pp. 257–61.
10. MUNFLA Q68–49, p. 12. Names and places have been changed.
11. For accounts of this type of random destruction, see Don Hunter and René Dahinden, *Sasquatch* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), pp. 19–20; and John Green, *On the Track of the Sasquatch* (Agassiz, B.C.: Cheam, 1968), pp. 28–29.
12. MUNFLA Q68–247, p. 12. Names and places have been changed. Middle paragraph and parenthetical remarks are by the collector.
13. I should like to thank William Kirwin for searching, albeit in vain, for this word in the Newfoundland Dictionary Centre, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
14. See Peggy Martin, "Drop Dead: Witchcraft Images and Ambiguities in Newfoundland Society," *Culture & Tradition* 2 (1977): 35–50.
15. MUNFLA 68–17, p. 137. The place name has been changed. Parenthetical remarks are by the collector.

16. See motifs N570ff. in Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature,* rev. ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955), for international analogues to this legend.
17. The strange shining eyes have been described in other Sasquatch encounters. See Ivan Sanderson, *Abominable Snowmen: Legend Come to Life* (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton, 1961), p. 122; Hunter and Dahinden, *Sasquatch*, pp. 46, 67; and Green, *On the Track of the Sasquatch*, p. 63.
18. MUNFLA 68–17, p. 137. The place name has been changed.
19. "Sasquatch/Bigfoot: A Canadian Perspective," typescript, 1976. See motif A972.2.2. *The Devil's Footprint* in Thompson, *Motif-Index*.
20. As quoted in Hufford, "Humanoids," p. 236. Hufford was unable to track down the source of this story, noting that, according to his informant, it appeared in an "old travel book." Another account of the "Traverspine Gorilla" of Labrador is given in Elliott Merrick, *True North* (New York: Scribners, 1933), pp. 24–26.
21. Similar perceptions of the Sasquatch as a gorilla occurred in the report of the capture of a creature, subsequently named Jacko, in British Columbia in 1884; see Hunter and Dahinden, *Sasquatch*, pp. 22–25. See also Green, *On the Track*, p. 41, for a similar perception.
22. *Abominable Snowman in Newfoundland,* writ. & narr. Michael Harrington, CBC Radio, St. John's, *Jamboree—Friends and Neighbors*, 8 June 1977. The source of this story is not given. I should like to thank CBC St. John's for allowing me access to the radio script.
23. Hufford, "Humanoids," p. 241.
24. "Aspects of Traditional Verbal Control: Threats and Threatening Figures in Newfoundland Folklore," Ph.d. diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland 1972. A slightly abridged version of this dissertation has been published as *If You Don't be Good: Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland,* Social and Economic Studies, No. 21 (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977).
25. Hunter and Dahinden, *Sasquatch*, p. 35, allude to the bogey man-Sasquatch relationship, but do not explore the question.
26. MUNFLA Q67–213, as quoted in Widdowson, *If You Don't Be Good*, p. 166.
27. MUNFLA Q63B, as quoted in Widdowson, *If You Don't Be Good*, p. 179, and MUNFLA 67–1, as quoted in Widdowson, "Aspects," p. 367, respectively.
28. MUNFLA Q67–158, as quoted in Widdowson, *If You Don't Be Good,* p. 195, and MUNFLA Q67–427, as quoted in Widdowson, *If You Don't Be Good*, p. 151, respectively.
29. Reported by the student in a class on Newfoundland Folklore at Memorial University of Newfoundland, taught by Herbert Halpert, in the autumn of 1972.
30. See C. G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious,* trans. R. F. C. Hall, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung,* vol. 9, part. 1 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959). For a discussion of the ape as a universal "figura diaboli," see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Apelore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* Studies of the Warburg Institute, No. 20 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1952), pp. 13–27.
31. Green, *On the Track of the Sasquatch,* pp. 33, 41–42; and Bernard Heuvelmans, *On the Track of Unknown Animals,* trans. Richard Garnett (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965), pp. 91–92.
32. *Folklore of the Sea* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press for the Marine Historical Assn., Mystic Seaport, 1973), p. 228.